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which is 'adherescent' with *adsequentium*. In this passage it would have been possible to write *ne* for the first *non*. A careful examination of all these passages will make plain the significance of the position of *non* in Cicero, Cat. 1.5, our starting-point, and will prove the incorrectness of the translation which Mr. Austin prefers.

C. K.

#### A SCENE FROM ARISTOPHANES ON A GREEK VASE-PAINTING

In the *Annali* of the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica in Rome, for 1847, page 216 and Plate K, is published a vase, the present location of which is unknown<sup>1</sup>. This vase is a krater of South Italian make, with a comic scene, the interpretation of which has been the subject of many articles by learned men, who nearly all differ one from the other. I venture to propose an interpretation of the scene which has not, as far as I know, been suggested before.

Panofka, who first published the vase in the *Annali*, says that it represents Creon, an old man disguised as Antigone, and a spear-bearer<sup>2</sup>; while Heydemann maintains that it pictures Antigone arrested by two guards, in a scene of parody<sup>3</sup>.

It is obvious that the scene is thought of as comic; so why should we not try to find some extant comedy in which a scene corresponding to this occurs? It seems to me that we can find just such a scene in the *Thesmophoriazusae* of Aristophanes.

We know that the *Thesmophoriazusae* was brought out in 411 B. C., at the City Dionysia. This vase must have been made after that date, if we accept the theory that it represents a scene from this play. But this offers no real objection from the point of view of technique, as these comic vases are dated at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century.

The *Thesmophoriazusae* would lend itself to the imagination of the vase-painter because, being a non-political play, it would appeal to a far larger circle than a scene from one of the political comedies would, as the latter, outside of Attica, would probably not be understood by many people, on account of the purely local allusions.

It will be remembered that the plot of the *Thesmophoriazusae* is as follows.

Euripides, in order to defend himself against the attacks of the women at the *Thesmophoria*, sends his father-in-law, Mnesilochus, disguised as a woman, and dressed in clothes borrowed from the tragic poet Agathon, to plead his cause. Mnesilochus goes to the festival of the women, and in an eloquent address makes out a very good case for his son-in-law.

He is betrayed, however, by the effeminate Kleisthenes, who, because he comes as close to being a woman as any man can, is admitted, without question, to the women's mysteries. Kleisthenes announces that a man has fraudulently obtained admission to the ceremonies, and, after a scene more easily conceived than described, Mnesilochus is discovered to be the guilty person.

Mnesilochus takes advantage of the confusion to snatch from the breast of one of the women what to all outward seeming is a baby. The 'mother' then seizes the center of the orchestra, and laments in the following manner<sup>4</sup>:

MICA—           Hoy, hoy, there! hoy!  
                      He's got my child, he's got my darling,  
                      O!  
                      He's snatched my little baby from my  
                      breast.  
                      O, stop him, stop him! O, he's gone.  
                      O! O!

MNESILOCHUS—Aye, weep! you ne'er shall dandle him  
                      again,  
                      Unless you loose me. Soon shall these  
                      small limbs,  
                      Smit with cold edge of sacrificial knife,  
                      Incarnadine this altar!

MICA—           O! O! O!  
                      Help, women, help me! Sisters, help,  
                      I pray.  
                      Charge to the rescue, shout, and rout,  
                      and scout him.  
                      Don't see me lose my baby, my one  
                      pet!

CHORUS—       Alas! Alas!  
                      Mercy o' me! What do I see?  
                      What can it be?  
                      What, will deeds of shameless violence  
                      never, never, never end?  
                      What's the matter, what's he up to,  
                      what's he doing now, my friend?

MNESILOCHUS—Doing what I hope will crush you out  
                      of all your bold assurance.

CHORUS—       Zounds, his words are very dreadful;  
                      more than dreadful, past endurance.

MICA—           Yes, indeed, they're very dreadful, and  
                      he's got my baby too.

CHORUS—       Impudence rare! Look at him there,  
                      Doing such deeds, and I vow and  
                      declare,  
                      Never minding or caring,—

MNESILOCHUS—       Or likely to care<sup>5</sup>.

All the time that these exquisite sallies and retorts are being exchanged, Mnesilochus goes on taking the large number of garments off the 'baby'. And, as he does so, he speaks as follows:

MNESILOCHUS—       Now I'll undo these wrappers,  
                      These Cretan long-clothes; and  
                      remember, darling,  
                      It's all your mother that has served  
                      you thus

<sup>1</sup>Those who have not access to the files of the *Annali* will find the vase published in Reinach's *Répertoire des Vases Peints Grecs et Etrusques*, 1.273, note 1.

<sup>2</sup>The vase had, however, been previously published by Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, Plate 73, and pp. 312 ff.

<sup>3</sup>In an article entitled *Die Phylakendarstellungen auf bemalten Vasen*, *Jahrbuch Arch. Inst.*, 1886, p. 303, no. t. Heydemann knows the Aristophanes reference; see p. 303, note 252.

<sup>4</sup>Throughout this paper, I use the translation of B. B. Rogers (1904 edition). This is perhaps the most remarkable translation of a play of Aristophanes ever written, as it was composed from memory, without a text.

<sup>5</sup>For the text see lines 688-709; for the translation see pages 160-161.

- What have we here? a flask, and not a baby!  
 A flask of wine, for all its Persian slippers.  
 O ever thirsty, ever tippling women,  
 O ever ready with fresh schemes for drink,  
 To vintners what a blessing: but to us,  
 And all our goods and chattels what a curse!
- MICA— Drag in the fagots, Mania; pile them up.  
 MNESILOCHUS—Aye, pile away; but tell me, is this baby  
 Really your own?  
 MICA— My very flesh and blood.  
 MNESILOCHUS—Your flesh and blood?  
 MICA— By Artemis it is.  
 MNESILOCHUS—Is it a *pin*?  
 MICA— Oh, what have you been doing?  
 Oh, you have stripped my baby of its clothes,  
 Poor tiny morsel!  
 MNESILOCHUS—*Tiny?* (Holds up a *large* bottle).  
 MICA— Yes, indeed.  
 MNESILOCHUS—What is its age? Three pitcher-feasts,  
 or four?  
 MICA— Well, thereabouts, a little over, now.  
 Please give it back.  
 MNESILOCHUS— No, thank you, not exactly.  
 MICA— We'll burn you then.  
 MNESILOCHUS— O, burn me by all means;  
 But anyhow I'll sacrifice this victim.  
 MICA— O! O! O!  
 Make *me* your victim, anything you like;  
 But spare the child.  
 MNESILOCHUS— A loving mother, truly,  
 But this dear child must needs be sacrificed.  
 MICA— My child! my child! give me the  
 basin, Mania,  
 I'll catch my darling's blood, at any rate.  
 MNESILOCHUS—And so you shall; I'll not deny you that.  
 <Puts the bottle to his lips, and drains every drop;  
 taking care that none shall fall into the basin which  
 Mica is holding underneath>.  
 MICA— You spiteful man! you most ungenerous man!  
 MNESILOCHUS—This skin, fair priestess, is your  
 perquisite.  
 MICA— What is my perquisite?  
 MNESILOCHUS— This skin, fair priestess.  
 <Another woman, Critylla, now enters>.  
 CRITYLLA— Oh, Mica, who has robbed thee of thy  
 flower,  
 And snatched thy babe, thine only one,  
 away?  
 MICA— This villain here: but I'm so glad  
 you've come.  
 You see he doesn't run away, while I  
 Call the police, with Kleisthenes, to  
 help us<sup>6</sup>.

It will be noticed that the old man in the middle of the vase-painting, whom I believe to be Mnesilochus, still holds the wine-bottle, although he is now in a later scene, in the hands of the police; and the inference

is clear that he gives the bottle back to Mica after he has drunk all the wine it contained. This objection, and it seems a very serious one, can be answered by a consideration of the technique of the vase, and the deductions that we can reasonably draw therefrom.

This vase was found, according to the descriptions of Gerhard and Panofka, at Santa Agata dei Goti in Campania, the ancient Saticula, and is probably a specimen of the local technique, although it may possibly be an example of the 'School of Paestum'. Although the vase has disappeared, and there is no sure way of telling, I think it is more probable that it is Campanian, and of the local ware of Saticula. In the first place, the shape, which is that of a bell-krater, is that of the Saticula vases; in the second place, the subject is one of a kind that seemed especially to appeal to the painters of these vases'. Now, it is very probable that the vase-painters of this small site were not particularly learned or bookish men, and that they painted comic scenes from memory, and not from what they had read. Of course, it may be that the play was acted in Southern Italy in a corrupt form, but this does not seem to me likely; it appears to me more probable that the bottle was put in the hands of Mnesilochus on purpose, as a means of identification, as it is the outstanding feature of the scene immediately following his exposure. If I am right, therefore, it was deliberately inserted there so that the buyer might have no reason to think it either of the scenes which, in this later generation, Panofka and Heydemann have attempted to interpret it as showing<sup>8</sup>. For every reader of the Thesmophoriazusae will remember the baby and bottle scene, just as I did on first noticing the publication of this vase, and will say, without trying to remember that he hands back the bottle, 'Why, of course, that's Mnesilochus with the "baby"!'. Therefore, on account of this famous scene, the bottle might well be the characteristic attribute of the old man, especially to the vase-painter, who, as has been suggested above, was in all probability not a very bookish person.

Let us return to the plot of the Thesmophoriazusae. The chorus of women guards the old man, while Kleisthenes and Mica go to fetch the police. A magistrate with a policeman (called *τοξότης*) arrives, and Mnesilochus is given in charge. This moment, in my thinking, the vase-painting portrays. Mnesilochus is still in his woman's garb, and holds his female mask in his hand, while to his breast he tightly holds the 'baby' that he has snatched from the woman Mica, and which he should properly have returned to her empty before this scene began. The figure on the left is the magistrate, or *πρυτανίς*, while the man on the

<sup>6</sup>For the text see lines 730-765; for the translation see pages 162-163.

<sup>7</sup>For a good, and brief, discussion of the Campanian technique, see Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, 1.482-485; for the Saticula ware in particular, see *ibid.* 81, 484. A more complete exposition of the subject will be found in G. Patroni, *Ceramica Antica nell' Italia meridionale* (Naples, 1897), especially pages 93 ff.

<sup>8</sup>The reader will find in Heydemann's article a complete bibliography of this vase.

right is the *ραξὼρης* or policeman, who is set to guard Mnesilochus, and from whom that worthy finally escapes, in a most amusing and somewhat vulgar scene. Here again an objection offers itself. The figure of the policeman should be an archer, and this man carries no bow, but a spear instead. To this objection two answers can be made. Perhaps, by the time that this vase was painted, the word 'archer' as applied to policemen meant no more than such words as 'hussar' or 'dragoon' mean in European armies to-day, where all cavalry is armed alike, and these names are merely survivals of a time when there actually were different kinds of cavalry. Or, more probably, the vase-painter, being a South Italian, put on his vase what would be doubtless far more familiar to a South Italian buyer, a spear-carrier, as an archer was probably not so much seen there as in Athens. It seems to me credible, if not actually the case, that the men whose duty it was to keep order in the cities in Southern Italy were armed with spears. Whereas ancient representations commonly show the spear as carried by soldiers in comic scenes, the plays of Plautus and Terence nowhere mention the spear as part of the equipment of the *miles*.

I therefore would suggest that this vase-painting has been wrongly interpreted up to now, and that the true subject of the design is a scene from the Thesmophoriazusae of Aristophanes, showing Mnesilochus put under arrest. This interpretation gives us a vase, in addition to the few we know of already, with a scene from the great comic poet<sup>3</sup>.

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### FRENCH AUXILIARIES

The use of *avoir* as an auxiliary in the French conjugations was foreshadowed by some classical phrases, in which *habere* was used with a passive participle in agreement with a direct object. An example is Caesar, B.C. 3.89, *cohortes . . . constitutas habebat*. It is as if he were beginning to say in French, *les cohortes qu'il avait constituées*. The emphasis was a little different, perhaps, but the form was ready for modern development. In English the *have* construction of perfect tenses is practically universal, although some verbs (*come* and *gone*) permit the optional use of *be* for these tenses.

In French, however, certain verbs require the use of *être* as auxiliary. It is obvious that originally *habere* would be appropriate only with a verb having a transitive meaning and a passive participle to agree with the direct object of *habere*. But several verbs of intransitive meaning in Latin were used impersonally in the passive, as *venitum est*. When the desire for

an active auxiliary construction was felt, this impersonal form was apparently personalized into *sum ventus*, making *je suis venu*<sup>1</sup>.

The most eccentric use of *être*, however, in the compounding of tenses is when a verb is used reflexively, even if its ordinary meaning is transitive. Thus a Frenchman might say, *j'ai coupé quelque chose* ('I have cut something'), but, if the *quelque chose* were his hand, he would likely say, *je me suis coupé* ('I me am cut'), or even, *je me suis coupé la main* ('I me am cut the hand').

In this last phrase the French *me* is apparently a dative construction, although in form like the Latin accusative, and the logical inconsistency of using a direct object with a verb *to be* suggests the query whether the French *me*, in *je me suis coupé*, may perhaps represent in this and all compound reflexive tenses an original dative of agency, in Latin. Allen and Greenough say that the dative of agency was common with passive participles in classical times, and in later writings was used with any passive.

It is well known that the Latin passive in origin contained the reflexive idea. Thus, as the passive idea submerged the reflexive, it might be perfectly natural to restore the reflexive idea, as needed in the form of the passive, by using a reflexive pronoun in the dative of agency, and, as the dative of agency was more frequent with passive participles, it would be more likely to occur and persist in the perfect periphrastic tenses of the passive. Then, as the simple passive tenses disappeared, and the forms of the dative and the accusative pronouns became confused, the compound forms of the dative reflexive passive might remain as the auxiliary tenses for a verb of which the simple active tenses were used reflexively with a direct object pronoun of the person. We may suggest the same idea in English by saying 'I am self-cut'.

Thus the French compound reflexive tenses of direct action may be considered as a survival of the compound Latin passive tenses with a dative of agency. In this construction the French participle really agrees with the subject of the verb *to be*, as in Latin or in the ordinary French passive without a reflexive (*elle est coupée*), where the form of the Latin perfect passive tenses has been shifted in meaning into the place of the simple passive tenses of Latin (*il est aimé* = Latin *amatur*, a present, rather than *amatus est*, a perfect).

When, however, we have an object in the third person in addition to the reflexive pronoun, as in *je me suis coupé la main*, the reflexive may perhaps be considered a dative of reference and the apparent object only a cognate accusative, or it may be simply a case of false analogy, as it clearly must be with certain verbs where the action of the verb is only indirectly referred back to the subject from a direct object of the idea, as in the expression *je me suis*

<sup>3</sup>The latest list of vases with scenes from Aristophanes will be found in the *Jahreshefte* of the Austrian Archaeological Institute for 1909, 80 ff. For this reference, which was not accessible to me when I wrote this paper, and for many helpful suggestions, I am deeply indebted to Professor David M. Robinson of The Johns Hopkins University.

<sup>1</sup>No doubt the personal perfect passive with *sum* contributed to this development. See Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung in das Studium der Romanischen Sprachwissenschaft*<sup>2</sup>, 191.